Foundations of Maturity

MARY SHIRLEY

ONE DAY this young man will make his mark in the world—so think young parents as they gaze at their newborn son. But considering his utter helplessness at the moment, they are likely to accept the little-lump-of-clay-to-be-molded-by-our-hands theory whereby theorists sometimes describe the infant in arms. A moment's reflection, however, should convince any thinking parent that the baby is already a person in his own right, capable of making his mark—if not on the world at large, at least upon his own family.

From birth the baby not merely receives influences from his environment; he exerts his own influence upon it. Long before birth he begins to control his parents. His needs for prenatal growth dictate his mother's diet for the nine months of pregnancy and continue to dictate it throughout the nursing period. In other family matters—budget, housing, vacation, and recreation plans—the unborn baby has his say, and his unheard voice at the family council usually carries surprising weight.

When he finally arrives in a family that long has anticipated his coming, his very helplessness places the baby in a favorable position to become a dictator in the household. At his slightest distress he has but to call and help comes. His first cries are aroused automatically by anything that disturbs the pleasant balance of warmth and comfort that was his during prenatal life. For the gentlest hands and the softest coverlids cannot approach the tranquil ease of that warm bag of fluid in which the unborn baby is cradled; nor can the most regular feeding schedule equal the constant-flowing stream of rich maternal blood as a source of nourishment.

So when the baby's delicate balance of comfort is upset in the early days a cry ensues; mother or nurse appears, and comfort is restored. Warmth, dryness, and a comfortably full stomach are at first his only needs. Within a fortnight or two he may come to demand also cuddling, rocking, and the sound of a human voice. A cry usually brings them; and so the baby "learns" to cry for fondling and attention, whereas he cries automatically for his actual physical needs.

It is easy to see why the newborn baby commonly cries at being picked up. Being lifted is a slight jar that disturbs his comfort; being laid down again restores it. He has an antipathy to being molested and jiggled. Unfortunately for the mother, this happy state of affairs does not last long. Within a few days the at first unpleasant jars and jiggles become associated with pleasant experiences such as nursing, and the baby enjoys them, first as a forerunner of other pleasures, and later as pleasures in themselves.

Contrary to popular opinion, the baby's sense organs are well developed at birth, and capable of receiving and registering impressions. His sensitivity to touch and to slight changes in position and to movement is particularly keen—all due, no doubt, to his having been so well protected from jars before birth. No wonder he is upset by rough or awkward handling. This also explains why the baby invariably becomes fussy when his mother is nervous, worried, or tired. As she lifts him, changes him, or holds him to her breast, he is far more aware of tension and strain and flustered hurry than is an adult who merely watches her at work with him. Recently a mother, just home from the hospital with her second child, made a remarkably keen observation on this point.

"He's a good baby," she said, "except that he has a little fussy spell from eight to midnight every evening. I know the reason. We have had friends drop in every evening this week; their excuse is to see the baby, but they stay for hours. They say, 'Grace,

dear, go right ahead and feed the baby. Don't mind us. We'll chat with Howard a minute, then we're going.' When I start nursing the baby in the bedroom they call, 'Grace, did you see *Becky Sharp*?' or Howard yells, 'Darling, haven't we any lemons?' All that makes me nervous. I probably give a little start when I answer, and that upsets the baby and he's off for a stormy evening. After all, calmness and gentleness and regularity are everything in caring for a baby. I found that out with Peggy. I hate to be inhospitable, but this business of evening callers has got to be managed differently."

Serenity and Security

Interruptions at meals may be the early root of feeding or behavior problems. One mother correctly traced her five-month-old daughter's fear of a neighbor to a time when the neighbor burst in to call the mother to the telephone. The baby was nursing. Hastily the mother withdrew the breast, buttoned her frock, caught up the baby, and ran to the next house; she thrust the baby in the older woman's arms, and excitedly answered the telephone. This haste launched the baby into such a fit of screaming that the telephone conversation had to be postponed. Fear of the neighbor persisted about a month. It was gradually cured by setting the baby outdoors in her carriage to watch the neighbor at the interesting occupation of hanging out her wash. By six months the baby was all smiles again when the friendly older woman approached.

Another mother, nervous and distraught over an impending operation, jabbed spoonful after hasty spoonful of cereal at her baby's mouth, all the while smacking her own lips and saying, "Yum, yum, isn't it good?" and jouncing the baby on her knee. Small wonder that baby choked, sputtered, cried, and finally refused the porridge; or that she clung to her imperturbable nurse-girl when the mother, still jittery, returned from her tonsillectomy two days later.

Such behavior develops because of the infant's keen sensitivity to handling. Twittering, overjoyed excitement, as well as worry and haste, on the mother's part work havoc with the baby's temper. To be sure, a mother cannot settle down to a dead level of unemotional living for the sake of her baby, but she should cultivate inner calm and serenity as well as outward gentleness and skill in handling, if she would have a happy, even-tempered baby.

Sight is another sense that develops in early babyhood. The frequent remark, "Baby's eyes are the biggest thing about her," is literally true. Those organs are nearly full grown at birth, and are well developed for vision. The newborn baby blinks at a bright light, and his eyes attempt to follow a dim one. Within a few days he focuses a squinting gaze on his mother's face; within a few weeks he watches her every move; and by two months he rewards her with a smile. Very soon he elaborates the smile with a gurgle and thereby he captivates the entire household. Fathers, grandparents, and older children make few overtures to the tiny baby who only vaguely stares at them; but they form an admiring ring around the crib of the baby as soon as he begins to smile and coo. It is then that mothers must keep a supervisory eye on the group to see that routines are not broken and baby overstimulated.

More Worlds to Conquer

In less than three months baby makes a complete conquest of the world of people, and without lifting a finger. He merely uses his eyes and his voice. There are two more worlds to conquer —the world of objects and the world of space. To explore and exploit these baby must first master his own muscles. By three months he makes his first crude efforts. If father, instead of rushing to the crib and demanding a smile, slips up quietly, he will catch baby experimenting with his hands, holding up a tiny fist for inspection; waving it, fanning the fingers, and approaching one hand with the other until the fingers clasp and intertwine. Getting a fist into his mouth is his next easy step. Mother, alarmed lest the baby become a thumbsucker, perhaps puts restraining cuffs on his elbows so that he cannot bend his arms. It is a grave mistake to deprive the baby entirely of the exploratory use of his hands. It prevents his having legitimate satisfaction from handling and manipulating toys, and it serves to intensify his pleasure in thumbsucking, to which he reverts the moment his hands are free. Hanging a rattle or beads above his crib to be batted by his waving arms, and gradually introducing clothespins, bells, soft unglazed paper, cups, blocks, and rubber dolls are wiser and kinder curbs to thumbsucking than mitts or other restraints.

Baby's control of his arms, hands, and fingers proceeds systematically from the shoulder downward. It begins with sweeping whole-arm movements oper-

ated by the shoulder and upper arm muscles. These enable him merely to wave and bat at toys. In the fourth month forearm and hand begin working together to clutch the rattle; in the fifth the thumb becomes independent of the four curling fingers and wraps itself around the handle in the opposite direction in a firm grasp. Patting, shaking, scratching soon follow, indicating that wrist and finger muscles are well under control. Then comes a day in the eighth or ninth month when baby divorces his index finger from the other three and uses it to point, to poke into holes, and to trace a groove or pattern. Conquest of the world with his hands is by no means completed, but he has developed the basic skills for future mechanical exploration of this world.

All this while other muscles are coming under control. Their mastery likewise proceeds from the head downward. Soon after baby focuses and follows with his eyes he begins to lift his wobbly head. By three months he rears it high off the table, propping his chest up by his extended arms when he is prone. Neck muscles and upper spine are now under his control. He delights in being propped in a sitting posture in his cab or on father's lap for fifteen minutes, and gradually longer, so that he can see the rug, the chairs, persons walking, and sister at play on the floor—all of which are far more entertaining and instructive than the bare ceiling that he sees from his crib.

Learning to Walk

In due time—seven or eight months—he sits alone. He is now master of his lower trunk. Soon pelvis, hip, and thigh begin to function as he wills, and he scuttles about on hands and knees. This brings ottomans, floor plugs, low shelves, and coffee tables well within reach. Although mother should start teaching the distinction between "mine and thine" with an admonitory "No-no!" when baby pulls out a lamp cord, upsets an ashtray, or pulls magazines out of the rack, she should put cherished wedding gifts, costly lace doilies, autographed first editions, and other valuable bric-a-brac on the mantle unless she can reconcile herself to a certain amount of casualty among her treasures.

Late in his first year baby struggles to become an upright person; he hoists himself onto his insecure legs by whatever tools are at his command. Steady chairs, davenports, crib rails, play pens, porch and stair balustrades, and even the walls are useful aids when he becomes ambitious to graduate from the creeping class. On the brink of a fall he grabs at random for support; a table scarf is better than nothing, in his opinion. Alarmed by screams, mother may find him weltering in a pool of water, ink, broken glass, and gasping goldfish; or untangling himself from the bridge lamp that has gone down under his onslaught. Fortunately his wounds are usually minor; providence seems to keep an eye on toddlers. But mothers can circumvent real disasters by seeing to it that the furniture in the room where he is left alone at this experimenting is steady enough to stand the strain. At last he achieves a precarious balance of his chubby body on his two short legs, and early in the second year he walks, and shortly runs and climbs.

Getting "Into Everything"

Then indeed the world is his oyster. In conquest after conquest he has triumphed. First, he won people; they have been his willing slaves ever since. Second, he mastered the world of things; they are now his to manipulate and exploit, to use or to destroy. Finally, he has conquered the world of space; by virtue of his tireless legs near and far no longer seem to exist. Trotting here and there, he is a potential mischief-maker. He opens cupboards and drawers, dragging out mother's pots and pans and dismembering the percolator in the middle of the kitchen floor. Since interest in opening and closing, putting in and taking out is at its height during the second year, this is a good time for the child to begin learning to put away clothes and toys. A toy chest with hasp and padlock, low drawers for clothes, and low hooks for coats, hats, and pajamas add interest to the going-to-bed ritual, when the child himself is allowed to put away and lock up his own treasures. But valuable as this training and experience is, do not expect too much of it. What is a game and an achievement now while the child is learning to "do it myself" is very likely to become a bore when it is expected of him as a routine. A certain amount of "back-sliding" is inevitable. For neatness is a matter not only of knowing what to do but also of taking responsibility for doing it; and responsibility comes later and more slowly in the child's development than the actual knowing how.

If anyone deserves the title of a "well adjusted human being" it is certainly the runabout child. Because he is still too young to take care of himself,

all his wants are supplied by that help-giver always at his beck and call if he will only cry "Mother." Other members of his family assist in waiting on him, laugh at his antics, join with him for a big-bear romp. Again at this age, when babies are so inviting and responsive, and uncles and aunts so delighted to please, mother must be on guard lest the baby become overexcited and overtired from adult play. When no adults are around, and even when some are, the toddler is perfectly capable of entertaining himself. He can go anywhere he likes under his own steam; everything is within reach, perhaps with the added effort of a little climbing, and virtually nothing is prohibited. In short, home is his empire and he is its despotic monarch. But not for long. Even before he utters more than an imperative grunt, he watches and listens with attention to those noises his parents make to each other and to him.

The day soon comes when an elder catches him in this eavesdropping and exclaims, "I honestly believe he understands every word we say."

Beginnings of Responsibility

So he does; and the price of comprehension is a curbing of his freedom. If he understands, then, say his parents, he must begin to be responsible for his misdeeds. The baby ends his second year not so carefree as he was six months before; and if the check-rein has been applied too harshly and too suddenly, he may even become a "stubborn" little child. There is another possibility, however; for babies have a way of perceiving gentle, consistent curbs to their freedom, just as they are aware of overseverity or of shilly-shally indecision and utter lack of control long before they reach the age of comprehending speech. Just how they sense parental firmness or laxness in control is hard to say —perhaps by regularity or irregularity in routine, or perhaps by something akin to that muscle sensitivity which makes the infant unerringly aware of hustle and bustle and upset in the household. However they achieve it, the fact remains that they have an uncanny sense of orderliness and fitness in their whole program of life.

Wise parents, therefore, will manifest consistency, regularity, and a gentle firmness from the very start, and will give some slight curbs to baby's freedom from the moment of birth, so that the blow will not fall suddenly in the second year, to the bewilderment and resentment of the child. They will also expect certain small duties and responsibilities of the child at the earliest possible age he is able to assume them. Bowel control will gradually be established toward the end of the first year, and the baby taught to indicate his need by a grunt or a syllable. Bladder training will begin at about nine months; the performance will be reinforced by the use of an appropriate and easily understood word such as "toilet" or "void," and success will be commended. By eighteen months most children will be able to tell of their need most of the time, and will be able to go alone with only a little assistance with buttons. Consistency and patience will accomplish more than intense insistence; and mothers must remember that, since no two children have the same rate of development, progress is more important than complete success as of a given month.

Progressing Toward Self-Help

The mother will work toward self-help in feeding and dressing. The child who can put a rattle in his mouth can also put in a spoonful of food, though he will still need mother's hand to steer it and keep it rightside up. He can also help to hold his cup for drinking. By fifteen months he will be able to use the spoon with fair accuracy and by two years to feed himself without much help.

Self-help in dressing and undressing and bathing likewise will be started very gradually soon after six months. Babies of nine months can pull off their caps, shoes, and stockings; year-olds can rub soap on themselves and scrub splotchily with a washcloth. Eighteen-month children can step in and out of simple underpants and sunsuits, and put on bathrobe and slippers. By two the child can and should be relatively independent of actual assistance, except with buttons and bow knots. He can and should be able to feed himself and attend to his toilet wants, and should go to bed for nap and night without a fuss.

Of course this does not mean that the mother should never lend a helping hand; it is one thing to know how to wait on oneself, and another to be able to do it day in and day out under one's own steam. Skills and techniques are normally mastered before the capacity for complete self-direction.

Meantime, his social adjustments are also progressing. He can and should play independently or with other children a large part of his waking time. He can and should know the distinction between toys

and tools that are his to exploit and his parent's possessions that are forbidden his use. Baby's own personality can reach its highest development, not by granting his every whim or allowing him to work out every one of his proclivities, but by imposing some restraints on this would-be dictator, and expecting of him an increasing ability for self-help. Baby grows into his true and best self only provided there is a balance between the things he influences and the things he is influenced by. The wholly unrestricted baby will grow into a child who rules his world until family, playmates, school, or society can stand it no longer; in the ensuing battle he will either emerge a self-willed autocrat or will be completely battered down. The baby who has been given gradual restraints and responsibilities from the beginning will help to mold, as well as be molded by, his environment throughout his entire life.

Widening Horizons

Two to six is a time of experimenting with new powers within and a new world without. To guide it wisely parents need to see behind and beyond the familiar happenings and interests of the child's day.

HELEN STEERS BURGESS

A TREMENDOUS span—two to six. At its beginning stands a little toddler, hardly more than a baby, and at its end an individual who must go out alone into the microcosm of school life. That six-year-old venture may well seem a milestone to the parent as well as to the child, no less significant than its later counterpart when, at some period between eighteen and twenty-three, our young men and women take their final steps out into the world.

Our ideal for them in that later stage is perhaps in some ways easier to define and to agree upon. The thing we most profoundly hope them to have achieved by then is judgment, the ability to discriminate, which is finally the ability to deal satisfactorily with such problems as they may meet. No less important is our hope that they will enjoy living. If we are wise this is nearly all we expect—and it is a great deal.

From the very beginning, our job as parents is to preserve such qualities in our children as will lead them toward these goals. The present emphasis, in progressive education and parent education, on the child's right to live fully and happily in the present has been a much needed and healthy reaction against the older idea of education as preparation for some indefinable future. But life moves rapidly, and the present can never be self-limiting. We need to take this large perspective, to keep in mind that we are not training children for any kind of status quo, but that in helping them to live well today, we are also helping them to become mature men and women.

What is meant, for example, by a "well trained child?" It is very nearly always the child who conforms pleasantly to the standards of behavior that adults find convenient. He is obedient, neat, not quarrelsome; he lets his guest use his favorite toys; and he bows mother out first through the door. There is a tremendous list, usually of things some other mother's four-year-old does, that each mother wishes hers would do; and the list gets longer as the child gets older. Examine these things carefully; how many of them are desirable merely from the adult point of view?

Parents often say, for instance, that courtesy and neatness and unselfishness and eating what's put before him, must be taught early for the "child's own good." Certainly we do want these future men and women to be gracious and orderly and unselfish, but little children cannot acquire such qualities either through fear or through the constant repetition of commands to be such and such. As a matter of fact, young children are very unlikely to understand or be able to practice these adult "virtues" no matter what the method of training. Real courtesy, the kind we want our children to have, is, for example, far more than a question of "manners." It is the thoughtful and imaginative insight into other

people's minds and feelings. Little children are far too absorbed, and rightly so, in themselves to have this insight. We can best help them toward it by letting them expand as freely as possible in the directions that are proper to their years. Putting them at ease with themselves will help them to be at ease with the world. Such "politeness" as they achieve in these early years, through imitation of what they observe around them, is all to the good. We may be pleased if they absorb a good deal, but not overcritical if they do not. This is no less true for unselfishness, for not quarreling, and for neatness, good eating habits, and so on. If we prepare the ground, the time will come when the seeds will flourish without forcing.

The kind of behavior often called lying—saying he saw a kangaroo in the kitchen, or that his nurse slapped him, or that he did not soil his pants—is particularly typical of this age range. Obviously, untruths are not to be encouraged, but at this age they need be no cause for alarm. The child simply wants certain things and goes about getting them in the most direct way open to him. Desiring your attention and approval at all costs, he says whatever will get them. His logic is perfectly sound according to his own lights. He is only just beginning to appreciate what we call reality. Most of the world is still what it was in infancy—a conglomeration of his own feelings of satisfaction, of boredom, or of deprivation or pain. While we are endeavoring to give him an increasing acquaintance with our world of reality, together with plenty of scope for imagination in other directions, we must not expect him to draw the distinction between reality and fancy too consistently.

"Satiable" Curiosity

WHAT are the qualities that really pertain significantly to the little child whom we wish to have grow up into a stalwart, independent, happy person? First of all, he has curiosity. It is quite literally his birthright, and it is his key to the world. Don't let him lose it. With it he can unlock all doors, find the far places and see the near ones truly; without it he will hesitate to go where he is not led. Our babies were born curious, and they explored their narrow little worlds and pushed the boundaries back until we marvel at the extent they have cleared by the time they are two. What's going to happen in the next four years? Before we take a hand in causing anything to happen, let's be very clear about what it is we want—for them. For ourselves we will agree we want them to be quiet at least part of the time, and mindful of high places and sharp things and other people's property. But we should also agree that these matters are primarily our responsibility, not the child's. It is we who must see to it that quiet occupations are made enjoyable or that there is one place for children's noisy play and another for grown-up quiet, and that we provide an interesting life in an environment where so far as possible the slopes are gentle and the corners rounded.

Emphasizing Positive Values

BUT what of the things we want for *him*? They have little to do with our comfort, or with our pride in his behavior, but everything to do with our hopes for him—his ability to meet his problems squarely, to judge independently, and to live with gusto. These capacities are hard to create, often difficult even to foster, but woefully easy to curtail. A child's curiosity about every living thing with which he comes in contact is his best guide; and it is this we must take care not to stifle. Parents will go to trouble and expense to give their children interesting experiences: taking them to the seashore or the zoo or to see a great building, or giving them an electric train. All of these are fine things for children to come in contact with; but their major contribution to development is lost if children's minds are absorbed by attention to things they must *not* do, *not* touch. A little child's attention has capacity for just so much; and if we are successful in getting the negative things in, some of the positives will be left out. Since the positive qualities are our ultimate aim, we must not be misled by the apparent urgency of the moment—the moment that says, "He must not touch my best china"—"I must get an hour's quiet"—"He must not wander out of sight." This does not mean letting your child run wild and never saying "No." There will be a vast deal of stuff from which your four-year-old must be diverted and protected. But as a rule this can best be done by engaging his interest somewhere else on something that he can explore quite safely.

If you are thinking ahead to the autumn when he first goes off to real school, remember that here, more forcibly than ever before, his curiosity will help him. Your query need not be whether he is clever enough to do the tasks, or submissive enough to

authority, or sufficiently socialized to get on with larger groups, but whether his curiosity is fresh and eager enough to explore this new régime and discover its working.

As we gain perspective on curiosity, it is seen to include a great deal. Research has established what was always obvious: that it is easier to learn when one wants to than when one doesn't want to. In bringing up a child we can use this fact to test our requirements. If he has no curiosity on the subject —that is no "readiness" to learn it—whether it be a matter of not wetting his bed or reciting theorems, we may well question whether the objective might not be gained more easily and soundly if we were to wait until the maturing process itself has made the ground ready.

If we accept this principle of "readiness to learn" and make the most of it, even obedience will come far better than if we try to force the semblance of it too early or too strictly. Granted it does make a "nice child," what chance has it of making him into a competent adult? If a four-year-old child of well developed mentality has been taught that he will be shut in his room if he crosses the street alone, he will have learned, not that he mustn't cross, but that he had better not get caught. Real obedience is more subtle than this. We want to strike a happy medium, where most of the time a child does what he's told because he's learned that what you tell him is likely to be a good thing to do. As he gets older he can looker farther ahead and be more willing to sacrifice a present desire for a future benefit. But don't expect this mature outlook very soon. As for the apparent disobediences of these years, the mother should consider them carefully. Your child at two is beginning to have a tremendous consciousness of himself. At first this is a vague and chaotic consciousness of nothing but self; now it is becoming a clearer distinguishing between "me" and "the other." This distinction will quite naturally often become more important than anything else to the child, expressing itself in a definite defiance, a pitting of his will against yours for no other reason than that his is *his,* and yours for the moment is not. Such defiance is not attractive and is often embarrassing; but it is perfectly healthy. When it does not occur too often, it merely betokens an expanding personality, exploring again, this time its own powers. Obviously we take care not to let a child think that kicking and screaming is a good way of getting what he wants; but we needn't devote a great deal of attention to proving the opposite. It is a matter of emphasis; and our best policy is to shift the emphasis to positive rather than negative ways of behaving.

If independence is another quality you want your child to achieve, you will help its roots to grow healthily in early childhood. Real, honest, sturdy

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Adventures Toward Independence

Six to twelve is often greeted as a welcome "breathing spell" between the more difficult periods of early childhood and of adolescence. It is this—but much more, too, a time when intellectual curiosity and social cooperation call the tune for rich and fruitful living.

GEORGE D. STODDARD

AROUND six the child, at long last, is reborn in the image of his parents. He resents being called a baby, for indeed he is no longer one (except for occasional relapses as disconcerting to himself as to others). In some respects he has not been a baby for years, in that he scorns the lower emotional and intellectual stages of younger children.

Thus on entering first grade, William, six, said to Robert, four, "Ours is a big brick building and your baby school is small and wooden and will burn down some day."

"Yes," said Robert, "and I'll be there to see the fire trucks."

Whereupon William, surprised into an involuntary show of interest at such a possibility, walked off the field in dignified retreat.

Six-to-twelve is not a search for independence as an abstract virtue but rather a discovery of it by an indirect route. This is the route of learning, of doing, of mastering. Small wonder that this age is at once the dream of the teacher and of the mother who, slightly dazed, wonders "what has come over William"—and hopes that, whatever it is, it will last.

For William, with the first sound of the school gong, has settled down. And Mary likewise. It is an error to think that it is the rote-bound method of the traditional school which alone swings these young children so easily into harness. Psychologically, these children are prepared to embark upon a period of activity as amazing in its way as its predecessors in the infant and preschool ages. Not that the child's new life is completely divorced from his earlier experiences; of course it is not, but the way has broadened immeasurably for an extension of action and interest. His parents are no longer the all-inclusive, all-powerful emotional poles about which, in elliptic fashion, all life must revolve.

In a sense the child is now too busy to be so self-centered or so mother-father-centered. Or it may be said that his new emotional "scatter" permits a widening of his work-and-play horizon. No matter; he is, in these six years, barring unusual shocks, a doer and a learner of the first water, with an intensity of drive and a richness of new achievement never to be surpassed. Soon he will become an organizer and a social worker, even a social planner, from whom adults might learn much.

There are, then, certain lines of development in the child from six to twelve which emerge with sufficient clearness to constitute definite strands. They can be set forth as a series of propositions:

I. The child enters a "nice" stage which lies between the physical and emotional hurly-burly of his first five years and the storms of adolescence.

II. Intellectually the child grows steadily, with perhaps less interference from other factors (physical, emotional, personal) than at any other age. Overtly this intellectual maturation centers about concrete things to do.

III. Toward the middle and end of this period the child allies himself affectively and dynamically with others in his own age group toward a common purpose. The gang forms.

A further look into each of these interlocking categories may be helpful.

I. *Peaceful Conquests*

From the parental point of view, being well-behaved means essentially being *like me,* or at least, *like my conception of what you should be.* Small children rarely achieve this, and it is well. For if they did, it would be only at the price of giving up the immediate driving activities of childhood, namely, doing, learning, changing, exploring, experimenting, discovering. Even when the child is packed off to first grade, he does not relinquish this delightful program of action. Zestfully he enters into a new phase where there are other worlds to conquer. So far as he is concerned, it is just the grown-ups' good luck that the fresh adventure of school keeps him busy, drains his energies, divides his requests, frees his mother, and at the end of each day and week returns him to the home as one of the family. Now you can talk to him; he has "interests," "conversation," and above all "takes responsibility" and "sits still." Small wonder that harassed parents regard school teachers with something akin to awe, and that, given the opportunity (as school board members, for example), they stand solidly for the maintenance of discipline. In any case, now the child can learn with newly found patience and application; on this point, parent, teacher, psychologist, and psychiatrist appear in agreement.

II. *Learning and Doing*

But what can he learn? How fast? How much? And under what conditions?

By the mental age of six the three R's fall readily within the child's capacity. But it cannot be said (as some do say, following too closely the neat stages of Piaget *) that the child learns to reason, to see relations, to form generalizations, at specific ages. He reasons a little during the preschool days and continues to do so with increasing precision and facility up through the elementary grades. There need be no field of learning closed to him, but rather only the more abstract and generalized aspects of any field. Subject to this limitation the child's

* *Judgment and Reason in the Child.* Jean Piaget. Harcourt, Brace. 1928.

learning appears as sound as the adult's. For a given mental status, his speed of learning is directly related to the availability of the materials. Quickly he becomes a veritable storehouse of information about "school" subjects, as he already had about things in the home and the neighborhood. His language goes along with the things he can touch, manipulate, take apart, and measure; it will not become a hothouse growth once removed from things, persons, and places unless teacher and parent combine to set a high premium on verbiage.

It cannot be said that ordinary elementary schools require the child to learn too fast, but only that they do not require him to learn well. Material raked up only from textbook statements "about and about" is no substitute for the genuine comprehension which comes from first-hand experience, whether the subject be arithmetic, nature study, or dramatics. The optimum speed of learning for a given child can be observed best in the classrooms of liberal and progressive schools or in freely chosen activities, such as reading, collecting, camping, playing games, acting, planning, or organizing.

The prime condition of learning is a strong sense of need. No amount of expert battering from without can break down the resistance of a child who, fundamentally, does not want to learn. But a school which habitually houses children who do not want to learn is a contradiction in terms; and more—it is a disgrace to the community. For most children were not born that way, and their parents, unless more expert in malice and stupidity than real parents ever are, could not have quenched the deep-lying drive to question, to imitate, to explore, to learn. At this age, resistance to learning is a perversion, an abnormality, an intellectual loss of appetite, which is thoroughly shocking to anyone who has known these children in the full flush of their preschool years. Of course few schools encounter such a situation in the raw; but some slip into it insidiously, so that, grade by grade, the children go down hill. They learn less, they play less, they do less. Such children are being starved at their cultural roots. What might have been a glorious journey up through the school grades degenerates into dogged attempts to acquire innumerable items and skills which are retained long enough to "get by," but by graduation have sunk unpleasantly into the unconscious.

In short, the worst enemies of learning are humdrum and a feeling of futility. The school which gets away from these need worry little about the capacity of its pupils. Rather it will be pushed to supply the materials, the projects, the events, and the personalities, which bright-eyed children, in their eagerness to do and to learn, will incessantly demand.

III. *"Teaming Up"*

On toward twelve the boy or girl develops a sphere of activity, a desire for mastery, if you will, which he feels is beyond his individual capacities. He not only needs help but wants to give it. *Our* school, *our* club, *our* camp are realities which draw out his best. They attach him in a new way to those about him. Now he will do things for the group that he will not for himself. Badges, slogans, rituals, secrets, codes, feats of endurance (especially physical, but also, if necessary, mental) are the new stock in trade. The evidence of these interests is everywhere: in the boy's pockets, desk, and room; in his games and sports; even in his choice of movies or radio programs. This is a new and obvious teachableness, recognized by school people with painful slowness. All this socialized activity, which may be frightening to the old-fashioned teacher and upsetting to parents unprepared for it, is, of course, a powerful stimulant to learning. But it has to be *new* learning. If one must be in a crowd, let him learn what the crowd learns. He may wish occasionally to draw himself off to the periphery of events; but on the whole he will want to carry on enterprises which are essentially collectivistic; to add his resources to those of others; to make the crucial discovery that what is thus given away is not lost but increased.

In terms of the child's daily life, all this places the stamp of approval on school and home activities which, instead of fighting the child's nature, are in harmony with it. Let him go in for his gang in a big way, whether the gang be a school council, a printer's crew, a boat club, or an athletic association. If he enlists in too many, that will take care of itself by the old principle of the conservation of energy.

At this age, adult standards of quality and reliability need not weigh too heavily. At twelve the child is getting along, but he is not a grown-up. The extensive elaboration of boyish and girlish activities should be encouraged, with just a few forward-looking poacher's excursions into the realms of adolescence. The truly happy years from six to twelve will end of themselves; they should not be pushed into the past prematurely.

Adolescence—
A Look Backward and Ahead

Since the complexities of modern life are so largely responsible for adolescent "storm and stress," parents have a special obligation during their children's earlier years to help them build foundations of personality which will withstand these onslaughts.

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH

WE PARENTS, if we are intelligent, watch our children growing into adolescence with considerable foreboding. Educators, family physicians, judges, and mental hygienists have long been telling us that adolescence is a period of stress beset with pitfalls; and that as our boys and girls grow into manhood and womanhood we may expect them to go through a stormy period characterized by moodiness and emotional upheavals, doubting of self, rebellion, and conflict with their elders.

Jessie Taft, a psychologist who has written much on adolescence, states that "the adolescence which occurs without stress and strain is too unusual to be called normal."

Even more uncompromisingly, Dr. Harry Tiebout has said: "Conflict in the adolescent is unavoidable. While this conflict is going on certain traits of adolescence such as instability, moodiness, rebelliousness, extreme happiness and extreme unhappiness are bound to appear. Nothing can be done to prevent their coming to the surface."

While we may hope for the best, we are warned to expect the worst. It is popularly supposed that the conflict, emotional instability, and erratic behavior so common among our adolescents is the result of the pervasive physiological changes characteristic of puberty. At puberty, a new glandular hormone begins to be secreted. The endocrine glands are closely related to emotional stability. Moreover, they are an interlocking system—the functioning of each gland depending upon the functioning of the others. The equilibrium of the glandular system is disturbed by the new hormone. The system must readjust, stabilize itself. Meantime, the new hormone results in pervasive changes in the growth and functioning of the other organic systems. There can be no doubt that the years following puberty put a tremendous strain upon the functioning of the body, both physical and emotional.

The rapidity of growth and change characteristic of puberty has frequently been compared with that of gestation and early infancy; as Rousseau phrased it: "We are born twice, once to exist and once to live; once as to species and again in regard to sex."

That this rebirth should be reflected in the mental and emotional life, and the behavior of the adolescent seems likely enough. Phyllis Blanchard, in her book, *The Adolescent Girl*, concludes: "This is a difficult period because the physical changes going on in the bodies of our pubescent boys and girls have definite emotional concomitants which result in erratic behavior."

The implications of this point of view are far-reaching and of considerable social consequence. Mothers and teachers are warned that children will present special problems at this time, that these problems cannot be avoided, that as the body changes from that of a child to that of an adult, so inevitably will the spirit change, and that stormily. Just as a mother must fortify herself against the crying of the baby when it cuts the first tooth, so she must prepare herself for and endure as gracefully as possible the unlovely, turbulent manifestations of this awkward age. This point of view has well-nigh paralyzed parental effort and has done much to hinder any constructive educational approach to the problems of adolescence. Consequently, it is pertinent to inquire whether this assumption is founded upon established scientific fact.

There have always been students of adolescence who doubted this explanation. Among them recently has been an anthropologist, Dr. Margaret Mead, Curator of Ethnology at the American

Museum of Natural History. As sociology and anthropology have rounded out the knowledge of human behavior given us by biology and psychology, we have become increasingly cautious as to the patterns of behavior we attribute to "human nature." One after another of the forms of behavior we have been accustomed to attribute to the biological heritage and growth we call human nature has proved to be the product of the culture, the conditions of social life under which we live.

Coming of Age in Samoa

Mindful of this, Dr. Mead asked: Are the disturbances which vex our adolescents due to the nature of adolescence, or to the culture in which our adolescents are reared? Under other cultural conditions would adolescence present a different picture? Are the conflict and turmoil said to be characteristic of adolescence due to being adolescent anywhere, or to being adolescent in our Western civilization?

Searching for answers to these questions, Dr. Mead proposed to study adolescence in a civilization quite different from our own, holding human nature constant, while letting the environing culture vary. If the stresses and maladjustments of adolescence are the product of the physiological changes accompanying puberty, then we should find them characteristic of the behavior of the adolescent in any civilization.

Dr. Mead chose Samoa as the social laboratory for this experiment. In Samoa children pass through the same developmental stages as in America—cutting their first teeth and losing them, cutting their second teeth, growing tall and ungainly, reaching puberty, maturing physiologically, becoming ready to produce the next generation. But in Samoa this development takes place in a very different culture—a culture which for thousands of years has followed a pattern of development divergent from our own.

Are inner turmoil and overt conflict characteristic of adolescence in this different culture? They are not. Samoan youth, almost uniformly, pass from puberty to maturity without the storm and stress we think of as characteristically adolescent. In a fascinating story of this experiment, *Coming of Age in Samoa,* Dr. Mead has analyzed the differences between Samoan and American culture which she believes account for this fact.

In our Western civilization many of the most difficult adjustments the child will have to make during his entire life crowd upon him within the brief years we call adolescence. He must achieve, from our welter of conflicting values, a satisfying philosophy of life. As these demands crowd in upon him, his maturity is put to a severe test. If he has been helped, by home and school, to achieve adequate means of meeting life's demands, he will adjust. But if home and school have left him overdependent, insecure, with a sense of anxiety or guilt, with immature ways of meeting difficult situations, he will fail to adjust. His failure will involve emotional disturbance which will show itself in various types of symptomatic behavior. It is this symptomatic behavior which we call adolescent conflict.

Reducing Adjustment to Simple Terms

In Samoa the picture is different. In the first place, the child grows up in a family—if it can be called a family—very different from our own. It is a large, loosely knit group, involving all degrees of relationship. From the first months of life, the child is passed from the hands of one woman to another. Relationships within the group are casual. The child does not build up close emotional ties with a particular adult. Authority is diffused. The child does not become involved in personal conflicts with adults, does not build up personal resentments. As a result he emerges from the family without crippling dependencies or resentments, breaks away from the family, and achieves independence without conflict. In the second place, in Samoa the child is not suddenly thrown out into the community during the years of puberty, to make his own way, to shift for himself. Finding a vocational niche is no problem, involves no period of insecurity. From the earliest years, the child is gradually, as his strength and self-direction permit, inducted into the productive economic life of the community.

Again, the Samoan child reaches puberty with complete knowledge of sex, and with no apparent feeling of guilt concerning sex. Sex relationships are emotionally casual, nor are they specialized upon a particular person. Sex behavior is not hidden and veiled in shame. The sex life of the community is an open book for the child to read. Pubertal development and sexual maturity result neither in shock nor in problems of personal adjustment. Finally, the Samoan culture pattern is relatively simple and

homogeneous. The adolescent is not confronted with a bewildering array of conflicting values. His choices are few and easily made. Self-orientation to the meaning of life is no problem. It involves no self-questioning, no feeling of inadequacy, no doubt.

Dr. Mead's experiment would seem to answer, fairly conclusively, the question we have raised. In the light of her findings we are confirmed in our belief that the behavior so characteristic of our adolescents is not a necessary emotional and social projection of the physiological changes of puberty, but is rather a reflection of our pattern of civilization, which makes of adolescence a major crisis of social adjustment. We can, perhaps, do little about the structure of our civilization; but we can do much to prepare our youth to meet this crisis.

The most critical of all the adjustments our children must make during the adolescent years is that of achieving independence and self-reliance. Parents are likely to hamper their children as they struggle to make this adjustment. Our children, to begin with, are completely dependent upon us. As they grow older we are prone to forget that this dependence is becoming less necessary, more a matter of our own parental attitudes.

The Silver Cord

Life is difficult. We are anxious to shield our children from the difficulties we have had to face. The growing child is still relatively dependent upon us; we underestimate his increasing ability to cope with life for himself. More significant, perhaps, our own emotional needs cause us to keep our children dependent. Our hunger for love is satisfied by building strong ties with our children. Our feeling of self-importance is enhanced by maintaining the illusion that our children cannot do without us.

Standing between our children and the world is too frequently a matter of living our own lives in our children, satisfying our own emotional needs by keeping them dependent. Then, as life begins to make increasing demands upon them, they react with the infantile emotional patterns we have kept alive in them. They are "adolescent." While it may not be easy, parents may in some measure avoid this difficulty by encouraging the child's every effort at independence. It is too late to begin when adolescence is upon us. We must begin when our children are toddlers, and consistently foster independence through the succeeding year, relinquishing our controls gradually as they mature.

It is more difficult, perhaps, to see how we can prepare our children to take their place in the economic life of the community. Our civilization excludes the child from participation in its work-a-day world until, suddenly, it throws him in to make his own way. But the family may serve as a miniature community. And the child, from his earliest years, may be given an increasing share in its necessary work, a sense of the significance of his tasks, and a feeling of their relatedness to the work of the world. We can at least foster in him an attitude that will help him relate himself to the work of the community. Similarly, he may be prepared in knowledge and attitude to adjust to the maturing of his own sex functions.

Facing Presentday Problems

Finally, much of the spiritual agony and self-doubt of adolescence may be avoided if, from the time the child first asks questions, parents face frankly the conflicting values and standards of the world in which we live. Our tendency, when the child begins to sense and question these inconsistencies, is to fall back upon custom or authority, like the ostrich hiding his head in the sand. Our unwillingness or inability to face these conflicts shrouds them with mystery, doubt, and guilt. Our children sense this, and their attempts to relate themselves to the world about them are consequently complicated by those self-questionings which constitute the peculiar spiritual travail of adolescence.

The adolescent years are a measure of our success or failure in preparing our children to meet life for themselves, to cope with the demands which the years following puberty make upon them. We can no longer shirk our responsibility by saying they are "adolescent." Conflict, emotional stress, self-doubt are not inherent in adolescence. They reflect, rather, immaturity, the inability to face life adequately. Perhaps in our complex world they cannot be wholly avoided. But they can be forestalled and mitigated. Immaturity or maturity depends on the way we, as parents, have managed our relationships with our children. Watching their adolescence, we look backward at our failures or successes as parents; we look ahead at the way our children, as men and women, are likely to handle the demands which adult life will make upon them.

Education for Reality

Although we cannot foresee how the great social issues of our times will affect our children's lives, we can give them some background of judgment against which to weigh these issues for themselves.

Raymond Gram Swing

It is not easy to be a young person today. When I was a boy the world lay clear before me, and I knew that my success depended altogether on my own initiative. This is less true for young people today, for competition is stiffer and individual rewards on the whole are smaller. When I was a boy there was, too, such a thing as absolute truth, or at least intellectual certitude. Not every reasonable statement was subject to review in the light of psychology, sociology, economics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, or astronomy. And the truths that science knew seemed eternal and sacred. The undermining of intellectual certitude probably does more to make life hard for the young person of today than even the narrowing of the economic field. He comes on to the stage at a time when profound changes are taking place, and when the prevailing force in intellectual life is doubt.

The objective of education in an individualist society is to develop individuals; in the totalitarian state, to develop subordinates. The individual to some extent thinks for himself; the subordinate deliberately accepts the thought of others. Since the prevailing intellectual force in the world is doubt, the philosophy of the totalitarian state seems to offer young people a welcome relief from unsatisfying worries; this is one reason why fascism arouses their enthusiasm. But if individualist society is to be maintained, it is more urgent than ever that young people should be encouraged to do some thinking for themselves.

The question, "Can young people be interested in current events?" must be answered in the affirmative, if individualist society is to survive. If young people cannot be interested in the contemporary world, they will not fit themselves as responsible members of society to conduct their own community affairs. To me there is something tragic about a system of education which devotes most of its time to a review of the past and little to a study of the immediate present. Though the present can only be understood as a continuation of the past, the past has little life until it has been followed into the present. The newspaper should be as much of a textbook in higher education as the history book; and in a democracy all higher education should be focused on current affairs in their widest aspect.

One excuse for not bringing education down to the events of the day is that controversy should be avoided. But in the last analysis, that is fascist reasoning. It is fascist to avoid controversy, which is the life blood of individualist society. The controversy and conflict in society make living in it vivid and individual, and controversy should be cultivated and persons should be trained to engage in it. That is, current affairs, being the expression of conflict, should be approached from the standpoint of controversy, which alone can produce an understanding of them. The idea of "the opposition" should be implanted early, and great respect should be accorded it. The British employ as an official title, "Leader of His Majesty's Opposition," which is a national recognition of the permanent value and dignity of controversy.

In current events, there are, first, the given facts; then there are conflicting interpretations of the facts. While it is true that young people (and old) often crave something to believe without the responsibility of weighing conflicting interpretations, it is this responsibility which distinguishes them as being free. Whether or not education ever aimed at certitude, today it must aim at the exact contrary, the open mind. Young people can be shown that there is dignity, and even intellectual security, in not being absolutely final.

These are reasons why, in my opinion, it is essential that local, national, and world events of today should be studied by young people. Fortunately, most young people will enjoy such a study if approached as an understanding of conflict. And here the school has a greater duty than the home. In the home it is inevitable that children will either

take on the faiths of their parents, or rebel against them. They will hardly analyze, weigh, consider, and ultimately judge them, certainly not on the basis of discussion in the home, even if the discussion is skilfully directed. I may explain to my children two sides of any question. I may encourage them to choose for themselves between two sides. They are bound to ask me what *I* think, and to be influenced both by my answer and by my presentation of the two sides.

Home and School in a World of Change

At best, in the home, I can help my children not to expect certainty, to appreciate that truth is in flux and not static, and to give them a sense of the excitement of exploration. I can, of course, give them a good deal of information, and if I dramatize it to the best of my ability, they will listen to me at length. But I cannot shake off my children's reliance on my judgments, certainly not by exhortation. Yet I can prepare them to welcome an objective study of events at school. Or rather, I could, if the school built its curriculum around such a study. And since we are in a world of change, I can make my children realize that the problems they hear discussed, and read about in periodicals and newspapers, are not abstractions but very immediately their own concern.

I do not care to assert that schools are altogether neglecting this field. I know of many where a keen interest is awakened both in current events and controversy. The tendency today, too, is to approach problems by discussion, and there is a healthy development of the forum in many parts of the country. But local, national, and international news is not yet accepted as a standard school subject; and more than one excellent college takes pride in maintaining a cloistered isolation in this, one of the most dramatic moments in history.

Many college students go out into the world without the mental tools to deal with current events. Relatively few after their school days develop the ability to cope with the spate of ill-digested information which flows from the printing presses. For this reason, the average young person not only is not wise about the public affairs of which his life is a part but is not equipped to grow in wisdom about them. That he should not be wise is to be expected. But his education, at any rate, ought to have given him an understanding of the nature of news and public affairs, so that he can mature as he grows in experience. Instead of welcoming the controversial nature of nearly everything that reaches his mind, he is likely to be baffled and fatigued by it, and to seek escape from it. This he does, sometimes by building up indifference, often by cultivating cynicism, and frequently by taking refuge in some authoritarian doctrine which mercifully does his thinking for him, and which he is incapable of analyzing. All these escapes are defeats for democracy. The indifferent person will not help the community make its choice; the cynic is an active obstruction; and the disciple of authoritarian dogma usually is unable to make any contribution whatever to the solution of immediate social problems.

The existing educational system is, of course, a thing which has grown up from the past, which has been adapted to past needs, and which can only adapt itself to new needs somewhat slowly. It was a going concern long before the present economic and intellectual upheaval. No doubt a generation or two ago it did not need to be so immediate, as institutions and doctrines appeared to be abiding and trustworthy. But today, more than ever in history, young people must be trained to assay and choose. Today, too, more than ever, they face temptations to abandon this ability and to confide in the political or intellectual authority of others. Some schoolmasters are becoming frightened of the consequences of cultivating controversy, and would be willing to leave young people unaware that almost the entire political and intellectual fabric has been torn to shreds in the last decades. But to do this is to mold citizens to fit into a pattern, precisely what fascist schoolmasters are doing. What alone can distinguish education in a democracy is that it thrives on criticism, it honors controversy, it is quick to apply the lessons of experience, hence it is the mobilization of the philosophy of change.

It may be open to argument whether America ever has been, in the best sense of the word, a democracy. But I believe it is incontrovertible that it cannot become a complete democracy without an educational system which trains young people to define the conflicts of society, to analyze them, to weigh them, and so to perform the democratic function of choosing the solution of them. This can be done most directly by organizing schools so that young persons—and they can begin it quite young—learn to face adult problems, growing to maturity in constant touch with the news of the day.

Love and Marriage

All sorts of apparently good reasons—from the claims of higher education to the competition in job-hunting—today force overprotection on young people long after they are ready and eager to shoulder adult responsibilities. And then without adequate preparation they must face the marriage problem. Unless we help them to healthier solutions, hopelessness or cynicism seem to many the only alternatives.

Ernest R. Groves

THE substance of human nature seems unchanging. Generation after generation the basic drives that move people appear at their appropriate season. At no other time is this so evident as at adolescence. The mating impulses are perennial. They come to expression as each new group of young people draws near to physical maturity. The social situation in which these biologic urges have to operate are, on the other hand, constantly changing. No generation has quite the conditions of the preceding; no permanent formula for the adolescent's self-command or social adjustment can ever be established. This many parents do not learn. They try to fit upon their sons and daughters ready-made programs, usually constructed from their own personal experience, and are dismayed when their schemes fail.

In spite of all the present social confusion, experimentation, and efforts at social guidance, the mating impulses come forth with the same intensity and immutability that have been characteristic of human nature from the beginning. Each young person has to come to some settlement with his own impulses, and never in the memory of anyone now living has this been more difficult than at present. This does not mean that there has been a lessening of the attractiveness of marriage as the normal solution of problems of human mating, but rather that this goal was never so difficult to achieve. Many of the burdens of the prevailing social unrest, which weigh heavily upon us all, come down harder upon young people, who have every disposition to be confident and idealistic. The love impulses awaken, loaded with promises of paradise, while the circumstances that stare many in the face are an insuperable barrier at least to any immediate entrance into the Eden their hearts have discovered.

It is no time for complacency on the part of anyone close to the ordeal of modern youth. Parents and teachers need extraordinary, penetrating sympathy if they expect to help young people in their predicament. The mere failure of older people to understand the differences that have come about and that influence the pre-marriage as well as the matrimonial experiences of young people, adds still more to the burdens that youth finds inescapable.

It has never been clearer that most of our young people, if they are to achieve happiness, must somehow find the way to successful marriage. There are substitutes, many of which offer temporary satisfactions; but in the end the human need of fulfilment through the fellowship of love remains as supreme as it has been through former generations.

It is not surprising to anyone close to modern life that many of our young people quickly discard their hopes, and take refuge from disappointment in a cynicism that adds still more to their difficulties. On every hand they come in contact with people who confess failure in their own matrimonial adventures.

Marriage failure is not only widespread; it is exploited until it is hard for the adolescent not to think that marriage disappointment is the usual thing and matrimonial happiness exceptional. Art always remains sensitive to the tragedies of human living, and it is natural that literature and the drama make much of the supreme misfortune of life, an unhappy marriage. What art portrays with high motives, commercialized writing on a level too low to be artistic, catering to those of immature tastes, also pictures; but in such a way as to weaken hope and undermine standards. Especially has this been true of much of the entertainment recently offered by the movies.

Far too often, as a consequence, an unnatural feeling of doubt has been driven into the adoles-

cent's outlook upon life. The love impulse is forced to take on a shadow rarely present in the past. This stretches forward so that it ever faces the lover as he seeks his goal. It could be disregarded if the average young man and woman had a clear pathway to marriage. There are, however, other difficulties that make it seem to many that the way to marriage is filled with obstacles. These are not imaginary products of a too sensitive reaction to the difficulties of human living. On the contrary, they are to many American young men and women so solid as to make them year after year put aside all thought of marrying. This in itself at any period of time would have been a cause of emotional protest dangerous to the monogamic code; but there are circumstances at present that encourage this reaction beyond anything that could happen in times past.

Not only may the young man or woman face individual economic insecurity which makes it seem unwise, even if the mate has been found, to attempt marriage; but in addition it has to be recognized that society, on account of a world-wide depression, is at least in its economic aspect itself insecure. Ordinarily the young person postponing marriage could look forward to the time when in the natural order of things he would reach a position where his income would justify his marriage. Instead, he is conscious at present of the extraordinary uncertainty in business and in industry, and he cannot be sure that the future will deal with him any better.

Courage of Youth

THE IMPULSE of love or its counterfeit, passion, may be so strong or the inhibitions of caution so weak, that in spite of all these difficulties and hazards the young man and woman will marry and trust the future to secure them better than the present. Some even will be reckless enough or courageous enough, according to their situation, to assume parenthood once they marry, as did their parents, who had every reason to suppose that their economic status would improve as they moved toward middle life. This, however, will not be true of a considerable number of American youth. They will not feel free to marry until they can have greater economic certainty than at present. Even if they dare to go so far as to marry, some of them will refuse to take on the added hazards of parenthood and will feel that under the circumstances they are morally justified. Two generations ago there would have been no such solution possible. Then there existed no easy way for one to marry and voluntarily keep from having children.

The change has come about through the development of the science of birth control. Thoughtful people will agree, whatever their personal attitude toward contraception, that it is one of the most significant social happenings that has occurred so far in our century. The notion of birth control, of course, stretches back much farther than the Twentieth Century, but it is during the last twenty-five years that contraception has been improved and popularized. No young person brought up under normal conditions in American communities can, as things now are, escape knowing sooner or later that adults in large numbers protect themselves from parenthood under circumstances that always used to mean the risk of pregnancy. In spite of restrictive laws and the effort of many, for the most conscientious reasons, to keep knowledge of birth control from spreading through the population, no family, whatever its policy, can permanently keep the idea of contraceptives from those who in later adolescence feel the force of the mating and sex impulses. The taboo is broken.

A mere negative policy regarding birth control is sure to prove disappointing. Birth control has brought many new problems and changed the character of some that have vexed us for a long time. In this respect birth control is not different from many other significant contributions that have been brought by science for human nature to use for its good or ill. Thus far the automobile and possibly the movies seem to be the only products of applied science that rival in social importance this discovery of inexpensive, effective methods of birth control.

The present generation of youth, as it breaks away from childhood, is the first to face the new situation brought about by the popularizing of knowledge of contraception. Thus, in addition to the temptations that have always accompanied the passage through adolescence, they encounter some that are new and some that long have troubled young people but now take, on account of this spread of contraceptive information, a new form. Never was there greater need of self-discipline and the holding to the determination to seek a marriage fellowship that will bring fulfilment to their heart's desire, refusing to accept immediate pleasure as a substitute.

In addition to all the pressure they must meet if they keep their charted course, there is also a certain

pressure coming from their greater freedom, which also taxes judgment and self-control. The conditions of modern life, its mobility, restlessness, leisure, and opportunity have forced upon youth a sophistication that is unprecedented in our social history. Young people have not revolted, nor have many parents consciously established any new relationship with their older children in a deliberate effort to give them greater freedom. The change has come from forces that draw their power out of the way people live, rather than from conscious motives on the part of either young people or adults.

It matters not where the new freedom is coming from, so far as the seriousness of the problems it brings young people is concerned. Young people have no choice as they are moved more swiftly into adult life than ever before. The tension of their passage out of childhood into self-determination is made all the greater and the opportunity for mistakes is correspondingly more acute. Undoubtedly youth have been made to mature more rapidly through this pressure upon them, but even so adolescence has become for most of them more difficult, and many individuals have blundered into suffering.

What Can Parents Do?

However strongly parents may wish to, they have little power to change conditions. The attempt to isolate their children from the social conditions that sophisticate youth cannot be carried very far without bringing consequences that defeat their purpose. Their best policy is to prepare children for this ordeal throughout their childhood by gradually training them to take care of themselves as they increase their freedom and responsibility. The building of loyalty and mutual fellowship helps enormously, but unfortunately these solutions do not help those parents who are surprised at the turn that things take as their children reach their late teens.

Any effort to push young people back into the easier circumstances of an earlier age proves futile because modern life has become woven into the very fabric of youth. The responsibilities of parenthood have grown in proportion as the problems of youth have multiplied. Fortunately the resources available both for young people and parents have also increased. Psychology has given us an understanding of adolescence that was never before available for parents. Mental hygiene, as it has enlarged its effort to help people, has applied its new knowledge, drawn chiefly from physiology and psychology, to adolescent experience in a way that gives insight to both young people and adults. More recently progress has been made in relating this information to the inescapable adjustments that must take place in marriage if happiness is to be achieved.

Premarital Guidance

It is beginning to be recognized that many bad starts in marriage are due to minor physical or psychic handicaps, which may be readily discovered through a premarital examination by a competent specialist. The development of this intelligent method of entering marriage and of the family consultation bureau, which deals chiefly with the later problems arising in marriage and in family life, is the most promising of recent contributions. Another type of preparation for marriage appears in courses on marriage problems, for the most part at present to be found in colleges and universities. The courses on the family, which have been appearing so rapidly in our high schools, provide during the earlier and more formative years a constructive preparation for the responsibilities of parenthood and domestic relations. These courses are significant not only on account of the value of the instruction offered but also because they show clearly that society is making progress toward a more intelligent handling of the problems of marriage and family life. Young people were never more eager to start marriage experience with adequate preparation. They realize that even love does not make for plain sailing in such a complex civilization as ours. Although the number making full use of available resources is still proportionately small, the trend toward better preparation is unmistakable. Prevention is much easier than cure in marriage and family relationships, just as it is in dealing with disease. And young people are more conscious of this than are their parents.

There is also developing a more serious effort to understand the conditions of successful marriage. Especially of late have the contributions from medical science, psychiatry, and sociology grown in importance. Preachment and agitation are both giving way to investigation. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that the assistance coming from various fields of science will one day compensate and correct the difficulties in achieving marriage success which have been the result of modern civilization.

Parents' Questions and Discussion

This summary, selected because of its interest in connection with the topic of this issue, is presented for the use of individuals and of study groups.

STUDY GROUP DEPARTMENT
CÉCILE PILPEL, *Director*—JOSETTE FRANK, *Editor*

Won't someone come to the rescue and give us parents some sort of guide to the ages at which to expect certain behavior and certain interests in children? In reading a great deal of the material written about children, one finds no indication of the ages under discussion. As a result one is led to expect too much, or too little, of one's own children. I, for one, would certainly welcome some sort of general "yardstick," and it seems to me that it would be of great help to all of us who are not experts in children's behavior and responses.

It is true that scientific research has brought to light a great deal of data which can be extremely helpful to parents in knowing what to expect of a child at different levels of development. But any such "yardstick" must carry a warning that it is not to be applied too literally. At best it is an *average* or a *median;* and both of these are statistical fictions which have their uses, but are only misused if a given child is held up to them too closely. Even *normal* is not a strict scientific stamp of approval to be applied or withheld arbitrarily. Our attitude should be that—since age norms and scales represent, more or less, what happens when most children reach a certain age—we may expect a given child to progress to *about* the same stage of development at *somewhere near* the same age.

The difficulties of trying to pigeonhole child development too rigidly come not only from the impossibility of defining exact age levels but also from the intertwining of the various phases of development. Growth is all of a piece; you cannot really pull it apart into categories and compartments. For purposes of description we may distinguish physical, intellectual, emotional, and social development; but in the child's actual living their threads are woven in a single complex fabric.

A true picture of a child's development would have to be a *moving* picture—one that progresses by imperceptible steps. But a "still" now and then does make observation easier. Here are, then, three such "stills" which suggest what, according to the best knowledge available, children, on the whole, are like at about three, eight, and thirteen:

The Three-Year-Old

Physical Development—This is about the time when most parents suddenly realize that a child is no longer a baby and is on the threshold of new and rapidly developing capacities and interests. Boys of three vary from thirty-three inches in height with a weight of twenty-six pounds, to forty inches in height with a weight of thirty-six pounds. Girls vary from thirty-two inches in height with a weight of twenty-five pounds, to forty inches in height with a weight of thirty-five pounds. The three-year-old usually has twenty first teeth, including the second molar. Bowel and bladder control are both pretty well established, though some children may not yet be able to keep dry at night. Progress, rather than complete accomplishment, is still the goal in these matters. There is a rapid development in motor ability, shown both in the greater number of things that are done and in increased skill and speed in doing them. This is especially noticeable in walking and talking. The three-year-old can also, as a rule, climb stairs without holding on to the rail; and if he is tall enough, he can frequently use alternate steps just as grown-ups do. Other ways in which he shows his increased motor capacity and skill are in being able to stand or hop on one foot, to jump from a low step, to pile at least seven or eight blocks, to draw horizontal and vertical lines imitatively, to copy a circle, to crease a piece of

paper neatly. Many children also begin to use the right hand with more accuracy than the left and to prefer it for finer adjustments.

Intellectual Development—Between two and three years old the child often learns about six hundred words, bringing the total which he understands to somewhere between eight and nine hundred. He uses pronouns and plurals and the past tense. He takes pleasure in telling simple stories, either real or make-believe. He tends to use less "baby talk" though he will be at least four years old before he loses it all. He knows his first name and family name and his sex, and may have observed differences in the sexes. He can point to objects named to him in a picture and can enumerate what he sees in a picture. He distinguishes relationships such as *in, under, behind*. He has learned the difference between *longer* and *shorter*. He can repeat three digits instead of two. He can carry out directions involving two processes. He can build a bridge imitatively with blocks, put the two parts of a severed picture together correctly, and match colors. He probably is beginning to learn color names and is very much interested in color and color matching. His drawing ability is just beginning to pass beyond the scribbling stage; his pictures have not advanced much in form, but he gives them names suggested by chance resemblances.

Social and Emotional Development—This is closely tied up with physical and intellectual growth—in his understanding and use of names, including his family name and the names of others; in his ability to carry breakable objects, to help put things away, to open doors; and in his growing interest in putting on his own clothes. As a matter of fact, he is likely to be much more interested in waiting on himself now, while it is a new experience, than he will be later when it becomes an old story. Training in routines is therefore particularly rewarding at this age; but parents must be prepared to find that a skill, once learned, is not necessarily automatic. The responsibility is still the adult's, and some help, as well as supervision and encouragement, will still be needed for a good many years.

His play is less individualistic, and more dramatic and social. He likes more and more to play with children his own age, and utilizes playthings in more complex ways. There are already some differences between the play of boys and girls, but these are conspicuously less important than they will be later. The three-year-old is tremendously interested in his surroundings, but has not yet developed many of the ordinary inhibitions of everyday life. This adds to his characteristic tendency to "get into everything," and partly accounts for the fact that he frequently seems hard to manage. Fears are likely to be rather common; and there is likely to be a certain amount of emotional disturbance, often centering about eating and sleeping. His world is expanding and his personality unfolding in a way that makes every day a new adventure.

The Eight-Year-Old

Physical Development—This middle period has sometimes been called the maturity of childhood. With most of the early physical difficulties passed, health and activity are at top notch. High vitality and resistance to fatigue are characteristic. Physical development in general is well along. There may be, for instance, as many as twenty-four permanent teeth, all except the second and third molar. And the brain has acquired nearly its adult size in weight. On the motor side, the large muscles have reached nearly the height of coordination, and finer muscular coordinations are developing very rapidly. This is both the cause and the result of the typical urge for tremendous activity and the equally typical interest in running and chasing games, swimming, skating, and acrobatic stunts.

By the time this period is reached, individual variations in height and weight have become more marked, and such standards are considerably less important in relation to general health: (Boys from forty-two inches, thirty-nine pounds; to fifty-six inches, seventy-five pounds. Girls from forty-three inches, forty-one pounds; to fifty-five inches, seventy pounds.)

Intellectual Development—By eight such mental processes as sensory discrimination, immediate memory, and memory span have probably neared their maximum. The eight-year-old in the third grade or thereabouts is expanding his knowledge and his ability to use language very rapidly. He uses every part of speech and form of sentence, and on the whole his speech has taken on a mature character. Frequently this is very marked. He is interested in reading for fun, and may also take great pleasure in writing letters or stories or poems for himself. He likes jokes, rhymes, riddles, and conundrums. He is very quick to see similarities and differences and to generalize from them. He notices inconsistencies

in things and people, and is a frank and unbiased critic. His skill in using tools of all sorts is increasing rapidly, but does not keep pace with his ambitions and plans. He is likely to start more than he can finish, and a certain amount of adult guidance may help to keep him from disappointing himself.

Social and Emotional Development—The eight-year-old is able to do a great many simple tasks, and, if he is interested, can carry these out pretty much on his own responsibility. The ordinary care of his person and his possessions is well within his capacity—but is not likely to seem to him important. His standards are as remote from those of the adult as they have ever been or ever will be. Neatness and cleanliness will on the whole remain something to be put up with, and adults will have to continue to see that he meets a certain minimum standard, until the promptings of adolescence make him value these qualities for their own sake. But in matters that seem important to him—either in his own affairs or in those of the grown-up world—he can work with both will and responsibility. The care of a pet, riding a hobby, having a real part in some kinds of chores, or carrying on a self-imposed task—many things of this sort will challenge him to surprising maturity.

Most authorities agree that on the whole this is a relatively unemotional period. Freed from the clinging of early childhood, and not yet troubled by the conflicts of adolescence, it is likely to seem a little hard and unresponsive to parents who have not prepared themselves for this change from the dependence of earlier years. Along with this self-sufficiency, goes a marked preference for the company of his own age peers. Younger children are "babies"; adults and even the "teens age," are too grown-up to be reckoned with. Boys are beginning to play more with boys, and girls with girls. But this tendency is not so marked as it will be later.

His likes and dislikes are uncompromising, both for people and things. His friends can do no wrong; those who are not his friends, he either ignores completely or regards with open distaste. His clothes may be dirty or torn without troubling him, but they must be "right" according to the standards of his fellows. For though his loyalties may not yet demand allegiance to an organized group, conformity to the tastes and interests of the neighborhood and the school is already the test for everything. Group play for both boys and girls becomes increasingly important. Competitive and cooperative games and social indoor games like dominoes, parchesi, and so on, are more and more interesting. Hobbies are developing and collections of all sorts—scrap books, stamps, almost anything—are typical interests with both intellectual and social aspects. His most conspicuous social development comes increasingly through play and through contact with other children, and his social life becomes more varied and also more selective.

The Thirteen-Year-Old

Physical Development—Variations in build and physical constitution are by now almost as marked as they are among adults. Standards of height and weight have a correspondingly wider range and are proportionately less significant as indicators of general health: (Boys from fifty-two inches, sixty-four pounds; to sixty-seven inches, 124 pounds. Girls from fifty-three inches, seventy-one pounds; to sixty-seven inches, 131 pounds). Physically the individual has already reached, or is very near to, complete development. All of the teeth except the third molar (the wisdom tooth) have come. In individuals who have developed rapidly, especially girls, growth may have almost ceased; others may only now be beginning to "shoot up overnight." Thirteen-year-old girls are not only taller and heavier than boys of the same age; they are actually much more mature in every way. Boys are not likely to reach sexual maturity until fourteen or fifteen; but most girls have already attained puberty. They are correspondingly older in appearance; even their clothing must take on a more grown-up air.

Intellectual Development—Individual differences in intellectual capacity are becoming increasingly evident. Early adolescence is likely to be marked by an apparent lull in mental development, followed by rather sudden spurts in intellectual growth. There is evidence that these mental spurts, like the physiological changes, come earlier in girls. They also seem to occur earlier in superior than in average children. For many there will not be much actual further increase in intellectual capacity although training will usually be rewarded by continued improvement in skills.

Social and Emotional Development—School life is bringing wider contacts and is putting more and more responsibility upon the individual. In the junior

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Book Reviews

Growth: A Study of Johnny and Jimmy. By Myrtle McGraw, Ph.D. With a preface by Dr. Frederick Tilney and an introduction by John Dewey. D. Appleton-Century Company. 319 pp., 1935.

The Psychological Aspects of Child Development. By Susan Isaacs, M.A., D.Sc. Evans Brothers, London, 45 pp., 1935.

In the books reviewed below we find two different approaches to the problems of human growth. Dr. McGraw is an experimental psychologist. She is concerned primarily with the laws which govern the development of a child as a physical organism. To what extent can these be correlated with universal laws of organic development? To what extent can the maturing process be hastened, retarded, or deflected by training? To what extent do emotional attitudes affect the process and to what extent are emotional attitudes themselves the results of physical conditions? *Growth: A Study of Johnny and Jimmy* is an account of an experimental attempt to answer these questions. Dr. Isaacs, on the other hand, is an analytic psychiatrist. In viewing the developing child, she is primarily concerned with his achievement of emotional maturity. Her object in *The Psychological Aspects of Child Development* has been to present a picture of the gradually developing individual, indicating the interrelation between expanding physical, intellectual, and social powers, and the psychic drives which dominate successive phases of the maturing personality.

Except for a basic difference in belief as to the causes of anxiety and fear, the books complement each other. And even here there is no reason to assume that one must be wrong and the other right. It is conceivable that some anxieties may be the result of physical factors and others of psychic conflict, or that both factors may be present in certain situations. These two approaches to an understanding of human development are by no means mutually exclusive; they simply represent concern with separate aspects of a very complex problem.

Dr. McGraw's book is based on a four-year study of sixty-eight babies who were allowed to develop normally and of a pair of twins (possibly identical, though she herself is not sure), one of whom was given more education than the normal group, and the other less. Her findings pertain to the developmental process by which a baby evolves the fixed patterns of behavior he must attain to survive (such as walking, sitting, and standing erect) and the more special skills (such as climbing slides, getting down from high stools, and roller skating) which may be looked upon as higher education for babies under three.

The investigator found that each behavior pattern started with random body development, which passed on to a second stage, in which the child would make vague, uncontrolled, unconscious movements, often not repeated during some days. Then came a stage during which first one, then another phase of the complete behavior pattern would develop more directly. Their growth would overlap, and the development of one would sometimes seem to cause either a spurt or a retardation in another. After this period of diffuse and excessive activity, what we speak of as "waste motion" was eliminated. Not until all phases had reached this mature stage, would they gradually be integrated into a definite pattern. The process never goes ahead in a straight line. Different parts of the pattern mature at different rates and at different times. They progress in a series of overlapping circles, with frequent regressions to more infantile behavior when difficulties arise, such as the addition of new elements or the coming into dominance of a new phase of the behavior pattern. And this is true not only for a given course of behavior but for the child's development as a whole.

The phylogenetic activities (such as sitting and walking) appeared, from these observations, to be practically impervious to modification by training; the trained baby was superior only in his attitude toward the experiment. In acquired skills, however, training carried him far beyond the others, and left his untrained brother at the level of the normal group. Moreover, when training was stopped for a time and both children were given new forms of

training by another person, the untrained brother, although he reached equal results, seemed to do so much more by rule of thumb and less by thinking out the situation. Dr. McGraw sounds a note of warning, however, on this business of training a baby. Be sure, she says, that the child is actually ready for the skill you wish him to acquire, or training will only retard growth through discouraging him. She never initiated any activity, but always waited until her subject showed the way.

The implications of this research are perhaps more important than the actual material it presents, because of the vistas it opens up. The same laws of growth appear to hold true for the lower mammals, for the foetus, for the baby, and for man in his higher reasoning and social processes. For psychology it solves the old dualism of individuation versus synthesis, by showing that the part emerging from the whole and the parts building up into the whole are two phases of one process: that you cannot slice life into alternate layers of heredity and environment, for everything is in itself both an hereditary and an environmental factor. Most important of all, it provides a frame of reference within which further experiments can be made. Let psychologists study the facts of behavior as manifestations of the processes by means of which behavior takes form and grows.

This book does not include the psychiatric within its scope. This may at first seem a fault. Why did the investigator not consider the factor of jealousy in the attitude of the neglected twin toward learning? And wasn't she more in sympathy with the child she was training? The omission is not really a fault, however, because in order to discuss these complicated behavior situations at all she would have had to go into them thoroughly, and probably to append another volume. To be of any value, that volume would have had to synthesize through the genetic method, which Dr. McGraw has outlined, the two phases of our thinking on behavior, the psychological, and the psychiatric, as represented by *Growth* and by Dr. Isaacs's pamphlet reviewed below.

The study of child development proceeds from many different angles. Various sciences contribute to our understanding of the physical child: biochemistry, anatomy, neurology, nutrition, anthropology, and pediatrics; and in the psychological field alone, we have the differing approaches of phychiatry and of genetic, experimental, comparative, and clinical psychology. Each of these has an important contribution to make, but their findings must be integrated in some dynamic concept of the maturing process if they are to have value in promoting our true understanding of childhood.

Dr. Isaacs suggests that the real goal of the combined sciences of child development is the discovery of "conditions of bodily and mental environment in which the child can, at each successive age, attain an optimal growth in all aspects of his being—whether his understanding of the physical world, his social relations with other human beings, his inner psychic harmony, or the general health of body and mind."

While stressing the importance of the findings of the physical sciences, the author leaves those for consideration elsewhere. The object of her particular study is the presentation of an integrated picture of the known facts concerning the child's mental and emotional development from infancy to early adolescence. For convenience the available data is studied under the headings of infancy, early childhood, and later childhood—and again subdivided into two classifications covering social and emotional development on the one hand, and intellectual development on the other. But Dr. Isaacs warns us that such divisions are merely a convenient mode of expression. The child's development is continuous and learning has essentially the same character at all ages. At any level, study of the child's mental growth "must have constant regard to the facts both of his external behavior and his inner psychic life. The changes which each of these undergoes and the *interplay between them* need to be understood at each successive phase of development." It is the insistence on this point and the skill with which it is clarified which give this little pamphlet its particular value.

We learn not only the norms for gradual development in infancy but also something of their emotional concomitants for the infant. We are told not only of the rapid growth of skills and of concrete knowledge in early childhood—but also something of the effect of this growth on the development of the child's ego and his adaptation to the real world. Our attention is directed toward the increase of social feeling, cooperation, and interest in real achievement in later childhood—as contrasted with the individual play and make-believe of the young child. And this change is clarified in terms of massive

repression of early emotional conflict with regard to the parents and transfer of emotional satisfaction to other children and to domination of the physical environment.

In a section on "The Unconscious Mental Life," Dr. Isaacs explains briefly the basic doctrines of analytic psychology as applied to child development —the rôle of the sexual and aggressive drives, and the mechanisms of phantasy, introjection, projection, restitution, repression, displacement, and sublimation. These doctrines she treats as established facts, as important for our understanding of personality development as any of the findings of the other sciences of child development. In fact, for her they constitute that unifying concept of the whole maturing process without which individually observed facts have little significance. Although there are undoubtedly many people who will not be willing to go the full way with the author in granting these doctrines the position of indisputably established facts, no fair-minded person could help but find their correlation with the more universally accepted concepts of child psychology both stimulating and enlightening.

The final chapter of the book, "Some Educational Bearings," suggests the implications for home and school of the facts on child development set forth in the earlier sections. The importance of considering the emotional factor in the early training with regard to feeding and cleanliness, the need for a discipline which combines firmness with kindness, the value of play and companionship, the principle of learning through doing, and above all the need for teachers trained in the understanding of child development, are here reiterated. A brief but well selected bibliography completes the study.

HELEN STERNAU AND RUTH LANGNER

A Parents' Bookshelf

A Selected List of the most helpful contributions to our understanding of day-to-day living in families with children of varying ages. Covers a wide range of interests and problems: psychology, child training, nutrition, genetics, sex education, family adjustment, education, leisure, vocational guidance, character development.

Revised, 1935 Price, 10 cents

CHILD STUDY ASSN.—221 W. 57th St., N. Y.

In the Magazines

Tools and the Teacher. By Gustav Francis Beck. Journal of Adult Education, October, 1935.

A discussion of the function of a teacher, suggesting that his knowledge and enthusiasm are all important and that his tools can and should be of the simplest type.

Mental Hygiene and Religious Teaching. By H. Flanders Dunbar, M.D., Ph.D. Mental Hygiene, July, 1935.

A thoughtful plea for adequate mental hygiene training in the education of ministers and teachers of religion, as well as for careful selection of candidates on the basis of healthy personality. They need to understand their own emotional problems and those of the people who come to them for guidance, so that "in teaching of religion those elements in its symbolism and concepts which are consistent with adult living are emphasized rather than those which encourage the persistence of infantile patterns."

Education Can Change Intelligence. By Beth L. Wellman. National Parent-Teacher Magazine, October, 1935.

An associate professor of child psychology describes extensive experiments at the University of Iowa which show that a definite increase in a child's intelligence can be obtained by the right type of education. Preschool training in a good nursery school, good teaching, and placement in a school group which challenges the ability of the individual seem to be the factors making for such growth.

Making Religion Real to Our Children. By Elizabeth Biddle Yarnall. Parents Magazine, October, 1935.

The author feels that the ultimate aim of religious teaching should be to make the child feel that "oneness with humanity is oneness with God." Whatever we decide about formal religious education—Sunday school, Bible study, and prayer—our most effective religious teaching is given through our own attitudes toward life and religion—in sharing with our children the religious values in everyday events.

Science Contributes—

Some New Facts About Colds and Influenza

WITH the return of children to school and the onset of cold weather, comes the ever-present winter problem of "colds." Parents again are asking: What is the common cold? What is the difference between colds, grippe, and influenza? And why don't doctors find out more about them?

Doctors are just as much concerned with these questions as are parents; and they are finding out many things which have a direct bearing upon their solutions. All these related problems were discussed at the Annual Graduate Fortnight of the New York Academy of Medicine, which was held this year from October 21 to November 2. Clinics, lectures, and exhibits on "Diseases of the Respiratory Tract" not only make recent contributions more widely known but also indicate the still existing gaps in our knowledge and stimulate research workers in this field. The topics, and the work of the specialists who are speaking on each, are assurance that these discussions are authoritative and of practical value both to physicians and to the public; among them are: The Pneumonias of Children, Charles Hendee Smith; Sinus Disease from Infancy to Old Age, Charles T. Porter; The Evolution of Pulmonary Tuberculosis, James Alexander Miller; Influenza, Henry T. Chickering; and The Common Cold, Alphonse R. Dochez. The Graduate Fortnight Committee includes Charles F. Tenney, Harlow Brooks, Emanuel Libman, William F. MacFee, and Harrison S. Martland.

As a forerunner of this meeting, a recent publication * from the Hospital of the Rockefeller Institute gives an interesting account of current studies on the causes of influenza and the common cold. Since this is a description of research, it does not take up the question of prevention and treatment. (As a matter of fact, perhaps all that can, in any case, be said briefly to parents on these vital questions can be stated only in general terms: See that children lead an ordinarily healthy life, with plenty of sunshine, fresh air, and well balanced food. Avoid undue exposure as far as possible. If a child shows signs of illness, put him to bed and inform your doctor; then follow his advice as to treatment.) What the article under discussion does do most helpfully is to point the way toward clarifying the confusion, not only in lay minds but also among doctors, as to what "influenza" really is, and to indicate the advances of research and its still unsolved problems.

The lack of sharply defined symptoms has led to a careless application of the name "influenza" to various vague diseases with more or less similar appearances—from a serious epidemic like that of 1918-1919 to the much milder infections which appear almost yearly. "Grippe" is merely another name, now falling somewhat into disuse, often applied to these milder epidemics. But the confusion sometimes is much more serious. A striking example of this was reported from South America two years ago, when a mild epidemic, at first characterized as influenza, turned out upon more careful investigation to be a light form of yellow fever.

The author defines influenza as a disease characterized by sudden onset with chills and fever, muscular aches and pains, headache, and slight throat or bronchial irritation; but no running nose. It usually lasts two or three days, and is followed by marked exhaustion when the acute stage has subsided. But even this, he points out, does not entirely differentiate it from other diseases. Much more work of the kind he describes will have to be done before all these points are clear. But this definition does perform one very useful service for parents as well as physicians; there should be no further confusion between influenza and the common cold, since the most obvious sign of colds—a running nose—is absent in influenza.

As to the causes of these infections, some things are already definitely known, and other problems are well on the road to solution. Dochez and his associates have, for instance, demonstrated that the common cold is caused by a filtrable virus. And though the experiments have not yet been entirely conclusive, it seems probable that influenza is caused by another one of this group of infections.

But just what is a "filtrable virus" and how does it differ from our common idea of "germs" or "bacteria"? One difference of major importance is that of size. When a mixture of bacteria in a liquid is passed through a filter of very fine mesh, ordinary bacteria are held back by the filter while the liquid passes through. But in a filtrable virus

(*Continued on page 62*)

* *Recent Advances in the Study of Influenza.* Thomas Frances, Jr., M.D. *Journal of the Am. Med. Assn.*, July 27, 1935. Vol. 105, No. 4, Page 251.

News and Notes

Emergency Nursery Schools in Jeopardy

Emergency Nursery Schools serving families on relief, which for almost two years have been carried on under the Federal work relief program, are in grave danger, because of lack of funds with which to continue their work in many states. This project, which in 1934-35 employed about seven thousand teachers and cared for more than seventy thousand children, is one which has enlisted the support of every national organization serving parents and children. These organizations, through the National Advisory Committee on Emergency Nursery Schools, are now cooperating to urge the safeguarding of funds for the nursery schools.

This situation has arisen because of the fact that in the present WPA program funds are no longer earmarked for education—though special funds are set up for writers, artists, the Youth Administration, and other social projects. The National Advisory Committee realizes that even with the best intentions State Administrators are likely to lean in the direction of practical construction and engineering projects, and that the nursery schools, of which the values are less tangible, may therefore suffer in the competition for available funds.

A memorandum sent by this Council to Harry L. Hopkins, Administrator of the Works Progress Administration, sums up the situation as follows:

> The emergency nursery school program by its very nature, involving immediate aid and guidance to more than 70,000 needy young children this past year, cannot be abruptly stopped without serious impairment to the children and families involved.
>
> This program is unique among the WPA projects in that it renders first-hand relief and care to young children. The deprivations of these children constitute a demand upon society which cannot be postponed.
>
> It offers a program whereby the training and experience of teachers are salvaged through educational services rather than dissipated in casual projects.
>
> It is recognized by this Committee, as well as by other educational groups, that the emergency nursery school serves as a demonstration of sound practice in the care and guidance of young children. Thus the practices in emergency nursery schools may initiate permanent improvements in the social and educational services of institutions throughout the United States.

The Child Study Association has sent a telegram to Washington supporting this recommendation. Other interested organizations and individuals are urged to cooperate in this effort to preserve one of the most constructive of all the relief projects.

"Building America" in Pictures

"Building America" means building Americans who understand more about the complexities of modern life and are better prepared to meet them. One significant step in this direction has just been taken by the Society for Curriculum Study with its first issue of a series of monthly "picture studies" under this title. This new venture is challenging for several reasons: It is being developed under the auspices of a national organization of educators, with the aid of editorial, research, and photographic workers supplied by the Works Division of New York City. Its policy is to offer school children sound information about vital current problems in "tabloid" style, using photographs, "picturized" charts, and brief readable text. Each issue follows through some important phase of daily life as it affects us all. The current issue is on *Food,* from the farmer to the family-consumer. Those to come include Men and Machines, Transportation, Health, Communication, Power, Recreation, and Youth Faces the World.

In describing this periodical picture-text, the editor, Dr. James E. Mendenhall of Lincoln School, says that it "will present the inspiring pictorial story of the positive achievements of American ingenuity and ideals. It will describe the present status as well as the inherent possibilities in our wealth, power, and skill for improving the quality of American life, materially and culturally. The study units are constructed in a scholarly, scientific manner. The pictorial material dramatizes the contemporary problems of American life, and makes the subject matter more meaningful, interesting, and alive. *Building America* tries to make American youth and adults more sensitive to the problems which must be faced if the nation is to realize its great possibilities."

Inquiries should be addressed to Paul E. Drost, 425 West 123d Street, New York.

Children's Painting in North America

As a successor to last year's International Exhibition of Children's Painting, an Exhibition of North American Children's Painting will be held at Rockefeller Center from November 4 to 23, for the benefit of the Associated Experimental Schools. This year's

exhibit is expected to prove as interesting as its predecessor; it is planned to offer a comprehensive showing of painting by children in progressive schools and other centers where free work is done, and will cover not only the United States but Canada and Mexico as well. The cooperating schools include the Little Red Schoolhouse, Hessian Hills Schools, Manumit School, City and Country School, Cooperative School for Student Teachers, Harriet Johnson Nursery School, and Walden School.

Plays for Children

The Children's Welfare Federation is this year sponsoring the Clare Tree Major Children's Theater. These players, now in their twelfth season, offer programs of "real plays" especially planned to interest children of six to fourteen. The season's repertory includes: *Robin Hood, Hans Brinker, Alice in Wonderland, Beauty and the Beast, Heidi,* and *The Secret Garden.* Programs are presented on Saturday mornings at 10:30 at the Barbizon Plaza Hotel. For dates and reservations phone or write the Children's Welfare Federation, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Reading for Fun

While some boys and girls enjoy reading for information and authors and publishers in recent years have provided delightful books of this type for young people, the chief emphasis during the 1935 Book Week, November 17 to 23, will be on *Reading for Fun.* The broad field of imaginative literature, the classics, and modern tales of character, of far places, of humor and phantasy will be particularly emphasized. In *Roads to Childhood,* Anne Carroll Moore sums up the spirit of this year's children's week: "Dreams, fancies, humor, are the natural heritage of childhood and are at the foundation of what is beautiful and poetical in literature, art, and human experience. Never in our history has there been greater need for men and women of vision and power to persuade. These qualities may, and assuredly do, take form and clarity from the facts of science, but they live only in literature and in the aspirations of the human heart."

Child Study in Chicago and Baltimore

The Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education announces three important events for November. A series of six lectures on "Religion in Experience and Culture" will be given monthly, starting November 19. Dr. Douglas L. Campbell, assistant clinical professor of Psychiatry of the University of Chicago, will open a course of five talks on "New Perspectives in Psychiatry" with special reference to the education of children, at the offices of the Association, 220 S. State Street, on November 11. From November 6 to 8 the Association will hold its annual conference in conjunction with Carson Pirie Scott and Company. The subject will be "Family Relationships and Cultural Development of Children." Among the speakers will be John Langdon-Davies of London whose topic will be "The Dilemma of the Progressive Parent."

The Baltimore District of the Child Study Association announces a course of four weekly lectures, beginning October 25, on "Legal Props to Family Stability." Geoffrey May, General Secretary of the Family Service Society of Richmond, will discuss such problems as marriage and divorce, support and internal marital relations. The Leadership Training Course, the Inter-Community Child Study Group, nine private chapters, three headquarters groups, twenty-five school groups, ten social agency classes, and fifteen classes for Negro parents, all directed by the Baltimore District, will meet regularly.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1933.

of CHILD STUDY, published monthly—October through May—at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1935.

State of New York } ss.
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Zilpha Carruthers Franklin, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Managing Editor of the CHILD STUDY MAGAZINE, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—Select Printing Co., Inc., 80 Lafayette Street, New York, N. Y.

Editor—None.

Managing Editor—Zilpha Carruthers Franklin, 221 W. 57th Street, New York, N. Y.

Business Manager, Donald Cope, 80 Lafayette Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: Child Study Association of America, a philanthropic educational corporation, without stockholders, 221 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y., Mrs. Everett Dean Martin, President.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

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ZILPHA CARRUTHERS FRANKLIN,
Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 10th day of October, 1935
CORA C. FLUSSER, Notary Public, New York County.
N. Y. Co. Clk's No. 283.
(My commission expires March 30, 1937.)

Widening Horizons

(*Continued from page 41*)

independence is what we are aiming at, not the over-assertiveness which masks a doubt of oneself. We sometimes forget that the child is still very young; that while much of the time he is forging ahead and trying to "do it himself," there are many occasions when he feels his helplessness. Chairs are big, people are big, shoe laces are tangly, and everybody else in the world seems to know how to manage things better than he. So the small boy can only stand rubbing one foot against the other; or the little girl throws her dress over her head as company greets her; or a daring climber of fences suddenly wants to be fed by you and be a baby again.

Times like these are natural too, and we must treat them so. The very first need of an independent character is confidence; and while your child is young, a great part of his confidence must be in you. All the background of his emotional life is filled with this necessary parent-presence, and removing it too soon or too suddenly will merely make him long to return to the baby-life when he had it entirely. In the turmoil of growing up, his nature shows strong opposing drives—his need to assert independence is balanced by his need of reassurance. We cannot always tell what constitutes a strain or a difficulty for a child; look back at your own childhood and view with something more than amusement the absurd dilemmas which caused you agonies of embarrassment or pain. Since we cannot judge, we must take the child's own behavior as our guide. When, for some odd reason, he seems to need us, we must be there for him to fall back on. Only so will he achieve strength and confidence to go on.

As he is now, so are we all to some extent—straining in two directions. Powerful and helpless, courageous and fearful, full of doubts and hopes, of facts and fancies. The angels do not stand on one side and the devil on the other; truth—reality—is somewhere in between. It is not always easy even for adults to achieve that power of discrimination which is the basis of true maturity. But as parents it is our major responsibility to understand and to guide the little child's trial-and-error progress toward that goal.

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Colds and Influenza

(*Continued from page 58*)

the agents of disease are so minute that they pass through the filter with the liquid. This difference, simple as it seems in itself, is a serious obstacle to research and experiment, in that it makes the identification of filtrable viruses extremely difficult.

One of the things recent studies have, however, discovered about them is that man is not alone in his susceptibilty to filtrable viruses. It has been proved that dog distemper, "hog flu," and ferret influenza are also due to the same type of infection. Furthermore, after recovery from these infections, the blood of these animals contains substances which can be used to protect other animals from the same virus. After many failures, the author succeeded in transmitting human influenza to ferrets. Moreover, the contagiousness of this virus was so increased after it had been passed on through a series of ferrets, that two laboratory assistants came down with the disease contracted from the animals with which they were experimenting. These findings—that animals are susceptible to filtrable viruses, and that human influenza can be transmitted from man to animals and back to man—are important contributions which may shed a great deal of light upon future epidemics. Everyone who has read Hans Zinzer's fascinating account of typhus in *Rats, Lice, and History* already realizes what the possible implications of any such interrelationship may be.

The immediate practical question which this possibility of infecting animals with human influenza will raise in the minds of parents is, of course, that of household pets. Are our dogs and cats a potential danger to our children as carriers of filtrable virus infections? From the evidence of the studies here reported it seems likely that this possibility is not so serious as to rule out the keeping of pets. While the laboratory ferrets did transmit the disease back to humans, the ferrets themselves were infected only "after repeated failures." And there is as yet no evidence that specific animal diseases like dog distemper, are transmitted to man. The wise middle course would seem to be to keep our pets—but to apply the same safeguards to them as to the rest of the household. When someone has an infection of this kind, the well established rule of isolation should simply be enlarged to apply to the four-legged, as well as the human, members of the family.

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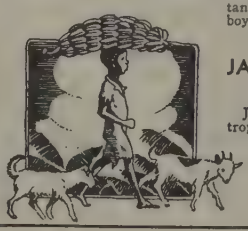

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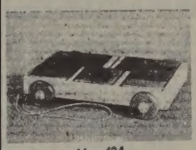

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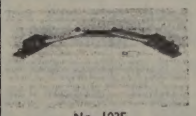

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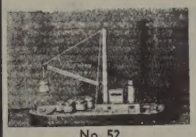

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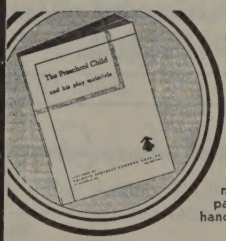

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Parents' Questions and Discussion

(*Continued from page 54*)

high school the thirteen-year-old must learn, sometimes rather suddenly, to take care of himself. In addition to this increase in personal responsibility, the thirteen-year-old must make many other adjustments. Frequently the influence of the home comes into conflict with outside forces, or at least is overlaid for a time by the glamor of these new points of view. The group spirit of the previous years is becoming crystallized in such organizations as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and so on. The period's typical interest in secrecy, in ritual, in pledges, and a tendency to hero worship all find their place in the activities of such groups. Games are played not only for fun but also for the sake of team or school loyalty, and the individual is coming to put group interest before his own. Boys and girls still play with their own sex, but are more conscious of, and interested in, the opposite sex than they were a year or two earlier. Girls are usually "clothes conscious," but perhaps still as much for the sake of impressing themselves as other people. But most boys still need a certain tactful and unobtrusive parental supervision if hair is to be brushed and ties properly in place.

This period is particularly hard to pin down and define. There are wide variations, both between individuals and within a given individual. We have all seen the thirteen-year-old who is actually still a child physically, or intellectually, or socially, or all three. We also know the thirteen-year-old (more often perhaps a girl than a boy) who is astonishingly mature. It is equally true that any thirteen-year-old may seem completely grown-up in some ways and on some occasions, and astonishingly childish in other ways and at unpredictable times. It is important not to expect too much of these young "young people" in the way of responsibility and a mature outlook on life—but it is probably equally important to expect enough.

REFERENCE READING

GROWTH: A STUDY OF JOHNNY AND JIMMY
By Myrtle McGraw — *D. Appleton-Century.* *319 pp.* *1935*

INFANT BEHAVIOR: ITS GENESIS AND GROWTH
By Arnold Gesell and Helen Thompson. — *McGraw-Hill.* *343 pp.* *1934*

MENTAL GROWTH AND DECLINE
By H. L. Hollingworth. — *D. Appleton.* *396 pp.* *1928*

OUR CHILDREN: A HANDBOOK FOR PARENTS
Ed. by Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie M. Gruenberg. — *Viking Press.* *348 pp.* *1932*

PARENTS, CHILDREN AND MONEY
By Sidonie M. and B. C. Gruenberg. — *Viking Press.* *219 pp.* *1933*

PRINCIPLES OF ADOLESCENT PSYCHOLOGY
By Edmund S. Conklin. — *Henry Holt.* *437 pp.* *1934*

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT
By Susan Isaacs. — *Evans Bros., London.* *45 pp.* *1935*

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD
By Naomi Norsworthy and Mary T. Whitley. — *Macaulay.* *368 pp.* *Rev. Ed. 1933*

TALENTS AND TEMPERAMENTS
By Angus Macrae. — *D. Appleton* *211 pp.* *1933*

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES
Child Study Association Pamphlet.

EIGHT TO TWELVE—THE NEGLECTED AGE
Child Study Magazine. — *October, 1934*

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CHILD STUDY entered as second class matter March 8, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.
Copyright 1935 by Child Study Association of America, Inc.
Published by Select Printing Company, Inc., 80 Lafayette Street, New York, N. Y. Eight months, October through May. Fifteen cents per copy, one dollar a year. Add twenty-five cents for all foreign subscriptions.